1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed.

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga.

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told:

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing:

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

Other Occupations

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return.

/54 cont./

older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports, and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)